LABOUR MONTHLY

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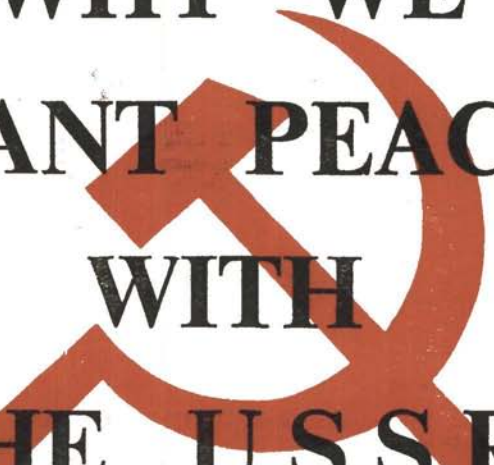
EDITOR . R PALME DUTT

WHY WE WANT PEACE WITH THE U.S.S.R.



MESSAGES FROM OFFICERS OF LEADING TRADES COUNCILS AND FACTORY WORKERS IN BRITAIN.

NOVEMBER, 1948

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

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ANCIENT AND MODERN

MANY of us, I suppose, have forgotten what we thought of the "Labour Monthly" when we saw it for the first time, or even how we came across it. Perhaps by chance; perhaps by the enthusiastic recommendation or gift of a friend. Some perhaps, lost patience with the timorous "facing-both-ways" journals, giving half the facts and no fighting lead. Or perhaps time marched on and put the stern facts of life on our agenda. Did the magazine's qualities slowly take a grip on us? Or did the very first number hit the mark?

So it is always especially interesting to get letters from new readers, as well as from the old and true who recall the past.

Here are two who were looking for a fighting lead.

"I have become acquainted with the magazine by chance. A fighting Socialist journal, it is a source of great inspiration; the vigour of its articles is a tonic, and with each issue I find them more stimulating and encouraging."

V.E. (Walsall).

"Having discarded the New Statesman and Tribune as Liberal trash, I hope to get better nourishment from Labour Monthly. Here is my subscription."

THE REVEREND B.S. (Glasgow).

THE HUMAN RACE

Other readers are particularly attracted by the international character of the magazine.

"If any journal can truly call itself a Magazine of International Labour, it is the L.M. That has always been the main appeal to me since the days when I marched behind old George Lansbury in the Hands-Off-China demonstrations. A new awakening of the British Labour movement to its international responsibilities is in progress, and the L.M. shows the way ahead as it consistently has done through all the troubled days since the first world war."

L.R. (Leigh-on-Sea).

As though in answer to him, comes this message from a political refugee, now back home in Germany, to whom an English reader is passing on his copy:

"Apart from the information I derive, I take it as an expression of solidarity of English comrades towards German comrades, and that is not of less value to us

(*Continued on page iii of cover*)

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Britain and the Soviet Union

My testament to the British people is—to keep the closest possible friendship with the Soviet people. Without it, I see no future.

BEATRICE WEBB.

Attention, everyone. Mr. Attlee speaking:

> There are many people who still profess a fear of the Soviet Union. But that fear is not because they think that there is there an aggressive State that is out to conquer . . . The real fear of Soviet Russia is the fear that you should have a State going forward based on a new principle, based on the principle of social justice. That is the really alarming thing to reactionaries all over the world.
>
> That is really the wonderful thing for all of us looking to the future: the successful maintenance over so wide a part of the world's surface of a State which out of chaos is building a new society—a new society on the basis of social justice.
>
> (C. R. Attlee on the Twentieth Anniversary of the U.S.S.R.).

That was in 1937. Who has changed—Mr. Attlee or the Soviet Union? It was the same Soviet Constitution, the same triumph of socialism by the road of the proletarian dictatorship, the same Marxism-Leninism, the same Communist Party leadership of a society freed from the division of classes and of parties. All that Mr. Attlee today denounces as "a police state", "slavery", etc., he then praised to the skies as "a new society on the basis of social justice". Who has committed the somersault? By Mr. Attlee's own definition the Labour Party leadership has joined the camp of the "reactionaries all over the world" who "profess a fear of the Soviet Union"—"not because they believe that there is an aggressive State", but because they fear "a society based on social justice". They fear the advance of Communism over the world, and have joined the Tories in the new cult of the Atom Bomb as the illusory last salvation of the old society to drown in blood the advance of the peoples to "social justice". But what was true on the Twentieth Anniversary is still more true on the Thirty-first. The same choice which confronted the British people in 1937, failure to respond to which resulted in the war, confronts them anew at a higher level and with still more momentous alternatives in 1948. The path of anti-Soviet hostility is the path of war and destruction. The path of peace and socialism is the path of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Forgotten Warnings

Attention, everyone. Anthony Eden speaking:

> That was the constant theme of German propaganda—the "Bolshevist bogy", and how well Hitler used it . . .
>
> Make no mistake: the moment the fighting ceases Germany will be out on the old theme of propaganda again. She will again try to play us

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off against Russia, and Russia against America and ourselves. Let us be very careful that we do not fall victims to that.

(Anthony Eden, House of Commons, 28.2.45).

Mr. Eden did well to give warning in 1945, since he has himself fallen a victim in 1948.

During the twenty years between the last war and this, Germany played upon the fear of Bolshevism to a considerable extent. That was why she was able to get away with murder for so long.

(R. K. Law, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, January, 1943).

Some others are "getting away with murder" again to the same theme, and those who gave the warnings five years ago are now applauding.

The other theme which is being constantly played is the well-tried "Bolshevik bogy". This theme stems direct from one of Goebbels' own most cherished propaganda lines. But it has also an older and yet more sinister pedigree. . . .

It has often been remarked that the survival of German militarism through the catastrophe of 1918 was one of the essential foundations on which Hitler built. But it is less often recalled that the allies, by their reluctance to tolerate revolutionary movements in Germany in the winter of 1918-19, unwittingly connived at its survival, and that cunning propaganda of "the fear of Bolshevism" was the force which impelled them to this connivance.

These precedents will now be present to the minds of the statesmen of the United Nations. They will act as a warning of the purposes served by current propaganda that dwells on the "dangers of Communism".

(*The Times* editorial, August, 1943).

True, O Sage of Printing House Square. But, then, why wallow in the same propaganda today against which you so sapiently warned five years ago? Would not these warnings be more timely today? Why burn twice in the same fire?

Berlin "Heroes" of Nazism

Three years ago, in a tornado of blood and fire, the Red Army conquered the last citadel of Nazism in Berlin, fighting street by street and building by building, and wrote Finale to the foul régime of Hitler and Goebbels—and thereby also wrote the warning of history to all who enter on the path of Anti-Communism and the Anti-Soviet Crusade. Today Mr. Churchill, in his speech to the Conservative Conference at Llandudno, regrets that the Red Army conquered Berlin. And *The Times* pays tribute to the smouldering fires of Nazism stoked up anew by the Western Powers:

Many tributes have been paid to the fortitude of the people of Western Berlin under the increasing strain of the blockade. The capitulation of May, 1945, was military but not ideological. The Russian failure to consolidate their conquest can be accounted one of the salient facts of contemporary history. (*The Times*, 6.10.48).

"*The capitulation of May*, 1945, *was military but not ideological*". Let the full meaning of that sentence sink in and be remembered; its ten words illuminate the depths of shame to which the Western Powers have reached. The capitulation of May, 1945, was the capitulation of Nazism. And today *The Times* glories and pays tribute to the

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former Hitlerites of Berlin because their capitulation was only military and " not ideological "—that is, the spirit of Nazism continues and receives the "tribute" of *The Times,* the filthy Hitler-Goebbels banner of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet hatred is raised anew under the inspiring leadership of the Western Powers.

" Not Always Wrong "

" I have not always been wrong", said Mr. Churchill complacently to the applauding Conservative Conference, as he held out before their dazzled eyes the intoxicating prospect of an atom bomb ultimatum for war on the Soviet Union, with a recklessness which alarmed even *The Times* as much as it delighted his American masters. No—not always wrong. But quite often—especially in connection with the Soviet Union. You were wrong when you dreamed to crush the infant might of the Workers' Republic with your wars of intervention, and only succeeded in squandering British lives and a hundred millions of British taxpayers' money for a fiasco. You were wrong when you backed Kolchak for a winner and proudly declared that you took your orders from that bloodthirsty ruffian. You were wrong when you proclaimed your enthusiastic confidence in Mussolini and your "admiration" of Hitler. You were wrong when you backed " non-intervention" in Spain and skulked in "neutrality" in face of the first Nazi-Fascist armed invasion of a European democracy. You were wrong when you exulted in the war of Finnish Hitlerites against the Soviet Union and triumphantly announced that the war in Finland had proved the rottenness and military incompetence of Bolshevism, and prepared your bombing of Baku and anti-Soviet military expedition to Finland only to be forestalled by the speed of the "incompetent" Soviet military forces in breaking the "impregnable" Mannerheim line. You were wrong when you calculated in 1941 on the collapse of the Soviet Union in six weeks before the Soviet assault. You were wrong when you anticipated that by holding up the Second Front you would ensure the equal mutual destruction of Nazism and the Soviet Power to leave unchallenged Anglo-American world dominion after the war. And you are a hundred times more wrong today when you imagine the Atom Bomb will prove the magic predestined weapon of victory of counter-revolution against the peoples of the world.

Confusion in the War Camp

Mr. Bevin may still try to brandish the Atom Bomb, and to declare at Paris with his customary lucid logic that if America decides to let loose the "black fury" of atomic war, it will be the fault, not of the criminals who drop the atom bomb, but of the people on whom it is dropped. But the experts of American imperialism have begun to lose their confidence, even before the devastating exposure of Professor Blackett's new epoch-making book. Thus the leading anti-Soviet American military correspondent, Hanson Baldwin, wrote in *Harper's Magazine* for July of this year, warning against those who,

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like Churchill, dream of a speedy victorious atom bomb "showdown" with the Soviet Union, that they

> have confused fantasy with fact . . . They have not weighed in the scales of the future the intangibles of history; they have not reckoned the consequences or the costs of a major war in the near future; they have not studied the probable course of such a war; and they have assumed—fallaciously—a quick and easy victory . . .
>
> All this emphasises the difficulties of winning a quick and easy victory against Russia by a sudden surprise attack; such an attack would be a terrific gamble, with no certainty as to its outcome . . . Instead of a quick atomic blitzkrieg we would then be involved in a long-drawn-out war of attrition.

With this belated first glimmering dawning of sanity, cross-currents and a perceptible uncertainty of direction have begun to appear in the war camp; and these cross-currents are of the greatest importance in correctly assessing the present situation from the standpoint of the fight for peace.

Panic Over Peace Moves

One of these cross-currents was the Truman-Vinson episode. General Marshall has suddenly to interrupt his leadership of the American delegation in Paris and fly post-haste to Washington in order to throttle his own President from making a peace gesture to the Soviet Union. A curious situation. No doubt the proposed gesture was dictated primarily by electoral propaganda purposes to counter the campaign of Henry Wallace; but even so it bears witness to the mass desire for peace beneath the bellicose surface of American official expression. Following the episode of the Bedell-Smith Note proposing American-Soviet negotiations, to which Molotov's prompt "Yes" produced such panic-stricken horror in London and Washington at the appalling prospect of a peaceful settlement, this is the second indication of alternative tendencies within American ruling circles, which may come further to the front in the future, as the bankruptcy of the existing policy is increasingly demonstrated. Significant also has been the hesitant and doubting reception of Churchill's extreme war speech at Llandudno, shown in the open rebuke of *The Times* editorial, with its warning against the policy of an atom bomb "ultimatum", and in the frantic endeavour of Labour propaganda to dissociate itself from Churchill, even at the same time as Churchill and Bevin remain in practice as identical and closely linked in policy as Siamese twins who cannot open their mouths without expressing mutual compliments and pledges of support. In relation to Berlin, after all the fanfare of the indisputably illegal "reference" to the United Nations, a corresponding hesitation appears on further steps, as the contradictions of the Western aggressive and disruptive policy over Germany force themselves on the attention of even the hotheads.

"Quick War" versus "Cold War" Controversy

The hotheads still scream for speedy war—"while we have the strategic advantage" (as they believe). The garrulous organ of the

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Tory Die-Hards of the Imperial Policy Committee, the *Review of World Affairs,* proclaims in its October issue:

> If there must be a struggle, if there proves to be no other way out, then 1950 would be far less dangerous for the West than 1954. If it comes to a struggle, and it starts as early as 1950, we have good reason for thinking it would prove to be one of approximately three years. If it had come in 1947 or 1948 it would probably have been much less. If it comes in 1954 it might prove to be a very long affair indeed—or even worse.

And Stephen King-Hall writes in his *National Newsletter* on October 7:

> *The Offensive.* Instead of working ourselves into a state of alarm as to "what the Russians will do next" we must get the boot on the other leg and have the Politbureau in a state of panic about what the democracies are up to. . . Above all it must be recognised and publicly stated by persons of high authority and responsibility that this is our purpose and that we understand quite clearly that the Russian Communist Empire is at war with us; we accept the challenge and will extirpate this evil thing.

Thus these maniac pygmies, oblivious of the lessons of the Thirty-first Anniversary, are busy calculating the date on which they propose to "extirpate" the "Russian Communist Empire". With a sigh they have to admit that the so desirable date of "1947 or 1948" has been lost. Frantically they argue for 1950 against 1954. The prospect of a prolonged peace, during which the Soviet Union advances in strength on the basis of its socialist economy, and Communism advances over the world, fills them with horror. These bellicose calculations are the more marked, the more civilian the writer, and the more remote they are from having to bother their charming heads with military considerations or political realities.

American "Cold War" Against Western Europe

In contrast, the directing leaders of the American War Bloc are more sharply aware of the problems in their path which have to be surmounted before these fanciful calculations could enter into the regions of practical policy. They are aware that war has to be fought, not with diagrams on a piece of paper, but with peoples. They are aware that Germany, their essential base, is not ready; that the entire German people are deeply opposed to the policy of partition; that the structure of the reactionary West German State is still a fragile artificial creation dependent on external support and internal quislings; and that the Ruhr military arsenal has still to be built up. They are aware that their policy in Greece is a fiasco, and that Democratic China is daily advancing against the corrupt and crumbling régime of Chiang Kai-shek. They are aware that the entire French people are opposed to the policy of rebuilding German power, and deeply apprehensive of the aggressive war policy and the new suffering it means for France; that even de Gaulle is a doubtful instrument for their purposes; and that the first place in the political allegiance of Frenchmen is held by Communism. And they are aware that the deeply rooted traditional hostility of the British working class to anti-Soviet war is strongest precisely in the key centres of war industry, and that the

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open warnings of opposition to such a war are not empty. Therefore in their calculation the offensive must first be directed, not immediately against the Soviet Union, but to establish domination over the peoples in the outlying regions, and especially in Western Europe, the Middle East and Eastern Asia. *This is the present immediate direction of the offensive of the American War Bloc—with arms in Greece and Eastern Asia, with economic-political weapons in Western Europe.* This is the present stage of the war offensive. And this offensive is now being especially concentrated against the peoples of Western Europe. The diplomatic name of this offensive is the Marshall Plan—sweetly termed "European Recovery Programme" (like Japan's "Co-prosperity Sphere").

Western European Military Controversy

This strategy is further illustrated in the sharp controversy which took place over the establishment of the Western European Military Command—the hard core and real basis of the Brussels Pact and "Western Union", disguised behind empty phrases of economic-political co-operation or "spiritual unity". Recently *The Times* called attention to the misleading character of the term "Western Union", which has been so freely and loosely used in order to hide the ugly outlines of a reactionary bloc behind the fluffy confusions of the federal ideologues and draw the more innocent of their rank and file into the war camp, and also to hide the aims of American economic domination in Western Europe (expressed in Dewey's declaration of his intention as President to "prod" Britain into a Western European unification, that is, to oust Britain from its world empire position and reduce it to a minor European satellite). The editorial on "Western Union" observed:

> Ever since Mr. Bevin's speech on January 22 this year, in which he first used the phrase "Western Union" and made it the official aim of the British Government, there has been widespread confusion about its true meaning. Looking back, with the wisdom that comes after the event, it is possible to argue that the phrase itself was a mistake. "Union" should mean something more than any alliance.

Thus from this expression of the British official standpoint "Western Union" is a "phrase"; the reality is an "alliance". The remainder of the article discusses the practical problems in military terms:

> Progress in military organisation . . . The first task is to increase the equipment . . . The second is to reach a firm understanding on what is to be defended and how it is to be defended . . . It may be that Western Union would be unable to defend itself on the Rhine today, but it will be able to do so tomorrow, and perhaps in the Black Forest, etc., etc.
>
> (*The Times*, 8.10.48).

Strategic Dilemma

For the conception of a Western European Military Bloc France is decisive. But for the aims of the war planners France is the weak point. France is an unwilling partner of any war bloc. Dollar pressure had to be used to oust the major party in France from its

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democratic right of participation in the Government. Even the weak and unrepresentative satellite Government has had to be dragged step by step behind the policy of rebuilding German industrial and eventually military power with unconcealed reluctance and aversion. The military command of Montgomery had to be forced through against French opposition. This resistance is intensified by the indiscreetly clamorous public controversy of the Anglo-American Grand High War Strategists as to what is to be the fate of France in the event of war. One school, reputed to be favoured in Washington, declares that France and Western Europe must be temporarily "abandoned" as "untenable", and then "reconquered" by a glorious atom bomb offensive from bases in Britain and Spain, followed by American "liberation". The critics of this school point out, not incorrectly, that this engaging prospect for the French people is likely to produce very different results from those intended, and that during the period of American "withdrawal" such social and political changes would take place in France as no "reconquest" could undo. The alternative school accordingly demands that a grand line across Central Europe must be held, as from Stettin to Trieste. The critics of this school point out, also not without justice, that the holding of such a line of hundreds of miles across Europe against the strength of the Red Army would require enormous military forces, as well as a secure rear, that such military forces would have to depend primarily on French and German divisions, and that the political conditions do not in fact exist for this. Between these two alternatives the Grand High War Strategists find themselves for the moment bogged. Hence also the slightly uncertain note which has crept into their bellicose utterances of late, to the discomfiture of their more ardent hothead supporters who from the rear clamour for more action, and begin to find Bevin and Marshall much too tame for their taste.

Offensive on France

But the practical immediate conclusion drawn by both schools is the same. From the standpoint of the aims of the war planners the immediate objectives must be, not merely the building up of a powerful reactionary West German satellite, but equally and no less important, the subjugation of the French people. Such is the inverted logic of present Anglo-American policy, which appears to be turning the results of the war upside down, but in fact is pursuing the same line as after the first world war, only at a far more advanced stage, the line of the Dawes Plan and Locarno and Munich, of Hitler and Vichy, this time under American domination. So the offensive is turned on France. Hence the direct American political intervention in France to dictate the character of the French Government, irrespective of electoral or parliamentary considerations, with an openness which has not yet been attempted, because it has not yet needed to be attempted, in Britain. Hence the building up of the de Gaulle movement, and moves for a military dictatorship. Hence

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the insistence on imposing an outside Military Commander on France, represented by Montgomery in the first place, pending an American Commander in the event of emergency. Hence the ingenious "interpretation" of the Brussels Pact issued on behalf of the Foreign Office and State Department to announce beforehand that Clause 4 (military defence against aggression) establishes the right of military intervention against "internal aggression" or "political infiltration". Hence the active moves for a military understanding with Franco to cover the southern frontier of France. Hence the concentration of bases in Britain and Spain to command France. *It is indeed a merciless comment on the shameful outcome to which the Attlee-Bevin-Cripps policy has reduced this country that Britain and Franco Spain should thus be classified together by the American State Department and War Department as the two reliable bastions of reaction against a socialist Europe.*

France the Battleground

France is today the central battleground of the international working class, not only in the fight for living standards, but in the fight for democracy and peace. The desperate economic situation of the French people reveals the true picture of Marshall "Recovery". Since the Communists were driven out of the Government in France by dollar pressure in May 1947, prices have doubled, while wages have risen 15 per cent. Real wages, which in August 1946, were 79 per cent. of pre-war, are now (October 1948), after the beneficent work of Marshall and Hoffman, 51 per cent. of pre-war. The share of capital in the national income has risen from 29 per cent. in 1938 to 42 per cent. in 1948; the share of wages has fallen from 45 per cent. to 38 per cent. Such is Marshall "Recovery". When the French workers strike against these conditions, it is proclaimed a "Communist conspiracy", and all the customary lies about "foreign instructions" and "Red gold" are trotted out by a "Socialist" Minister of the Interior (the same Socialist Party which instituted the Death Decree against the Communists in the war, the same Socialist Party the majority of whose deputies voted for Petain and the Vichy quisling régime). The confidence of the French people in the Communist Party has been shown by the fact that in recent by-elections, in spite of all the ferocious campaign of reaction, the Communist vote has risen and that of de Gaulle and the others has fallen; just as the recent Gallup poll (*News-Chronicle* 4.10.48) showed the Communist Party continuing to advance above the general election figure to 30.5 per cent., as against 29 per cent. for de Gaulle. Even the *New York Herald Tribune* was compelled to admit that the French miners struck

> because their wages have no sensible relationship with prices. The money a worker receives for his work has been so far outstripped by the prices he must pay to keep himself alive that he can see himself sinking towards starvation

and added that there was nothing to justify the charge that the strike was a Communist manœuvre. It is a measure of the degradation of the

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right wing leaders in the British trade union movement that they should not only stab in the back this desperate struggle of the French workers against wage cuts and conditions "sinking towards starvation", but should also thereby strike a blow at the standards of British miners and British workers, whose wage-levels are threatened by wage-levels half theirs in France. The fight of the British and French working class is today more than ever closely united.

Offensive on Britain

The offensive on the standards of the French working class and on the liberties of the French people is the preparation of the same offensive against the British working class and the British people. The close link is shown in the hysterical campaign which has been let loose against all militant trade union leaders in Britain who have dared to express solidarity with the struggle of the French trade union movement. In Britain the rearmament drive is being used to further the attack on the living standards of the workers. The Minister of Defence, Alexander, declared at Bristol on October 11 that

> Russia may be counting on forcing the Western European Powers to maintain such heavy armaments that the effects of the European Recovery Programme would be largely discounted

—a curious description of the diabolical Soviet demand for the reduction of armaments by one third. Crossman, in the *Sunday Pictorial* of September 26, described what he called

> the real dilemma of rearmament. If it is to be on a scale big enough to strengthen our diplomacy *it is bound to play havoc with our economy*. If we have to rearm out of our own resources we shall drive down the standard of living and play into the hands of the Communists.

His "solution" to this "dilemma" is characteristic. To accept the Soviet proposal for reducing armaments? Certainly not.

> The only sensible solution is that we should tell the Americans bluntly that we cannot afford even the present limited rearmament unless they provide us with extra dollars . . . *No Guns without Dollars.*

Such is the inspiring latest slogan of this "Keep Left" Labourite. Such is the final outcome of the anti-Soviet policy of ever increasing dependence on the American millionaires and worsening conditions for the British workers.

Friendship with the Soviet Union

This Thirty-first Anniversary should remind the British Labour movement and the people of Britain that there is another path—a path which can open the door to real recovery and peace. Co-operation between Britain and the Soviet Union—and let it be remembered that a British-Soviet Alliance exists, which has been continuously violated by the Government—would transform the international situation. It could restore British independence in place of being a satellite in the American orbit. It could make possible effective economic co-operation and trade between East and West Europe (which the European Economic Commission of the United Nations has already reported, with the unanimous support of all the

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Governments represented, including the British and Soviet Governments, could be multiplied fivefold and make Europe economically independent of America, but which is in practice banned by American policy). It could rally the other nations, end American world domination, and revive the United Nations as a real effective international organisation. It could make possible immediate reduction of the burden of armaments, and so rally the opinion of the entire world for the prohibition of the atom bomb that America would never dare to use it. It would revive and strengthen the progressive currents in the United States which represent the true aspirations of the masses of the American people. It would make possible the beginning of real reconstruction and improvement of conditions in Britain in place of the endlessly increasing burdens and deprivations leading to the nightmare of the prospect of war. All this is within our grasp. But to win it, it is necessary to fight to end the present policy of ruin and dependence.

Words to Remember.

It is timely to recall words which were spoken only last year by a leading official of the National Union of Mineworkers at their Annual Conference on July 7, 1947:

> It is staggering to read of those who contemplate the dropping of atom bombs over Europe. The advocates of atomic destruction make no bones about whom the next conflict was to be fought against—namely, the Soviet Union.
>
> **I take this opportunity of declaring my belief that no British miner or other conscientious worker would produce any materials for such a war, and the sooner the warmongers understand that the better.**
>
> If Britain declared its firm intention to stand alongside Russia and other peace-loving nations wherever they might be, then no other nation in the world would dare talk of a new war.

The speaker of those words was the Chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers, Will Lawther. When queried on them by the Secretary of the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee this summer he replied (*Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee Bulletin*, June 28, 1948),

> What I said on that occasion stands. Let the warmongers take heed, otherwise they will be their own gravediggers.

Those words—whatever else their speaker may declare today amid the filthy flattery of the millionaire press—those words spoken amid the unanimous applause of the Mineworkers' Conference represent the true outlook of the British miners and of all true British workers. Let them be remembered today, for the testing time is here.

October 19, 1948. R. P. D.

A stencilled Discussion Guide (3s a year post free) is available on the fifteenth of each month, to assist leaders of LABOUR MONTHLY *Discussion Groups to organise a fruitful discussion of the issues raised in the current issue. Questions are posed for discussion and suggestions for further reading. The Guide, however, must be ordered in advance, and should not be confused with the pamphlet "Organised Discussion" (2d) which gives hints on the formation of Discussion Groups.*

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WHY WE WANT PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

On the occasion of this Thirty-first Anniversary of the Russian Revolution we are pleased to print messages from officers of leading Trades Councils and Factory Committees throughout Britain.—Ed. L.M.

J. JACOBS*

Because for 31 years the people of one-sixth of the world's surface have demonstrated that the ordinary working people can run their own country efficiently in the interests of the people, and that Capitalism is not only unnecessary, but that it acts as a brake on human progress.

Since the November Revolution the working class of the world has admired and taken heart from the progress made by the U.S.S.R.

We remember the fight for Peace made by the representatives of the U.S.S.R. before the last war; we remember, with pride and thankfulness, the tremendous part played by the Soviet Union in smashing Hitlerism. We remember, also, the price they paid.

We remember the help given by Russian Trades Unionists to British and other Trades Unionists, when they were engaged in class battles against the Capitalist enemy; when the Capitalist press which today vilifies them was using the same invective against British men and women whose only "crime" was that they demanded the right to live.

We want Peace with the Soviet Union because the working-class has no interest in War. The working class does not profit from Wars but only pays for them in blood and anguish.

We want Peace with the Soviet Union because we know that Peace alone can enable the British people to work out their own salvation, and allow the Soviet Union to progress along its Socialist path.

H. BAKER, Birmingham Trades Council.

When thirty years ago the workers of Russia seized power, the British Trades Unionists stopped Churchill's attempts to crush the young republic. Once again, failing to learn from history, Churchill and his many supporters in the main political parties are embarking upon a policy of calling for atomic warfare against Russia.

But this time there is a big difference; thirty-one years ago Russia was weak, now she is a world power. Thirty-one years ago the British Trade Union Movement saved the Bolshevik Revolution; today the British Trade Union Movement must oppose the policy of Churchill, not only to save Socialism, but to save the whole British nation from

*Mr. Jacobs, as many of our readers will know, is Secretary of the London Trades Council.

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destruction. In any future war Great Britain will become the cockpit of Europe, and millions of our people will be destroyed.

Under this threat the Trades Councils have an historical responsibility to the world working class; they must become the local leaders in campaigns which, if conducted forcefully and energetically, can in a short time influence the T.U.C. to once again re-assert its authority to tell the Government, as it did in 1920: ". . . the masses of Europe and of the world want peace. The inhuman imperialists and militarists want war . . ."

Churchill and his lackeys have most of the Press and the B.B.C. to popularise his doctrine of death, but Trades Councils can counteract this vicious propaganda, through the democratic machinery of the Trade Union Movement, by seeing that each Trade Union Branch is well informed and takes part in all aspects of Trades Council activities.

The maintenance of peace with Russia is not only a question to be discussed at international and national levels—it is of vital local importance as it affects all of us. The Trades Councils, therefore, in leading the campaigns for peace will be rendering a service not only to their local affiliated branches, but to the whole of humanity. In celebration of thirty-one years of Socialist development in the U.S.S.R., let all active Trades Council delegates give a pledge that they will exert all their influence to making certain that Trades Councils, as local watch-dogs of the working class, will stop the tendency of a drift towards war against the Socialist States of Europe.

W. SPENCER, Coventry Trades Council.

"COVENTRATED" was a word coined during the last war. We didn't coin it—we don't like the word and much less its meaning. Much rather would we get back to the meaning and interpretation of some older words, namely COMMON GROUND, COMMON PEOPLE AND COMMON SENSE.

In addition to the ravages of War, Coventry has Common Ground with Stalingrad, the workers having subscribed magnificently to the rebuilding of that City's Hospitals. Coventry women signed Articles of Friendship with Stalingrad women, whilst the Local Civic Authority here has a Coventry-Stalingrad Committee. Why? Because the common people have common ground and we in this City, as in Russia, demand that if sacrifices are called for, they shall be made for the rebuilding and planning of our Homes, our Cities and our Country. We long to see our industries forging ahead, but for the *benefit* and *not* the exploitation and destruction of mankind.

Russia has what Coventry needs—Coventry needs what Russia has. Coventry has products to sell—Russia has contracts to place. Surely then we must bring the two together, and as Long Term Agreements can only be fostered and brought to fruition and fulfilment by years of peaceful understanding and trust, we must have peace not only in our time but for all time. That is Common Sense, or at least Coventry workers think so. War with any nation, let alone with the

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U.S.S.R., with whom the workers believe we have more in common, is unthinkable by anyone other than those who seek to make temporary profit from the destruction of peace-hungry citizens of the world.

As a Labour Party member, I believe that the pledge given to the people in "Let Us Face the Future" calling for closer co-operation and understanding with the U.S.S.R. must be fulfilled. I believe that peace is not the sole prerogative of any one Party, but must be the goal for all.

A. C. LOWCOCK, Leeds Trades Council.

First of all I must make it clear that I am expressing a purely personal point of view as at this stage the Leeds Trades Council has not made a pronouncement of policy (except that it is being represented at a Peace Conference called by the Leeds Forum). Other Peace Conferences are to be held.

It would be true to say, however, that no body of Trade Unionists in Leeds wants war with Socialist Russia. On the contrary Leeds was the scene of the original Congress of British leaders to greet the Russian Revolution, at which Ernie Bevin was a main speaker.

It is difficult for any trade unionist to reconcile growing austerity and wage freezing with increasing expenditure on armaments and war preparations. As ever the workers have to shoulder the burdens, though few of them edit or write the newspaper headlines that are developing the present war hysteria. I believe it is essential to strengthen the W.F.T.U. and revive Anglo-Russian Trade Union co-operation. At all costs organised workers of all lands must have their own independent working class policy of internationalism, solidarity and peaceful co-operation.

DON EDWARDS, Newcastle and District Trades Council.

The present serious situation in international affairs is striking a chill in the hearts of the common peoples of the world, and is to the sincere workers in the labour movement of this country one which must cause some anxiety as to the correctness of the role which we are trying to fulfil.

This 31st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution must bring back to many who are old enough to remember the struggles of the first Socialist State against the might of the Capitalist world, and the noble efforts of the British Movement to frustrate the Government of the day in its intervention in the internal affairs of another State. Having seen the tremendous advance of the living standards of the peoples of the Soviet Union up to 1941 and the destruction of everything they held dear, except indomitable courage, their Socialist faith from '41 to '45 and the rebirth of the devastated areas since 1945, who can possibly doubt their sincere desire for a lasting peace? Can it be that we prefer the evidence of Capitalist distortion as epitomised in their daily press? Are we to assist in any way, the plans and dreams of

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those behind the original drive against the foundation of Socialism? Are we to assist in a role in which Hitler failed so abjectly?

Or are we going to say as Socialists and Trades Unionists, that we can only afford to live in peace because Peace and Socialism are synonymous? Let us remember our words during the war years when we said that never again would we believe the lies we had read about the Soviet Union, because the valiant struggle of the Red Army, backed by the tireless efforts of the workers in Soviet industry, had thrown the lies back into the teeth of all their enemies and proved that Socialism can overcome any obstacle.

Surely now is the time to pledge a lasting friendship; demand a breaking down of all barriers, commercial, social or cultural, and an advance to World Socialism and peace with our Soviet comrades.

EMRYS BUTLER, Ammanford, Llandebie and District Trades Council and Local Labour Party.

We want peace with Russia because the alternative of War from whatever angle we view the prospect would be suicidal. From a purely Nationalist standpoint we would have nothing to gain, since the main protagonist would be America, to whom, with her aims of imperial conquest in order to allay her growing economic ills, we would be entirely subservient. This subservience to American Imperialism would greatly imperil the Socialist reforms already attained by our Labour Government and doom our hopes for building a Socialist Britain.

Secondly, from a class standpoint, we would be negating the very essence of the Class Struggle. Ever since 1917 the workers in this country have refused to be duped by the dope of the Capitalist press as to the real significance of the Russian Revolution, and have followed with pride the achievements of the First Workers' Socialist Republic. Therefore it would be unthinkable for us to lend ourselves in an abortive attempt to smash Socialism in one sixth of the earth's surface. Not only would we be endeavouring to turn back the clock of history, but we would also be damning our very souls for a mess of American pottage.

REG. BIRCH, President of the London District (N) Amalgamated Engineering Union, and Chairman of the Joint Stewards Committee, De Havillands.

For 30 years the people of the U.S.S.R. have striven for peace, and in so doing have voiced the aspirations of the working class of every country in the world.

As a delegate to the U.S.S.R. from the Amalgamated Engineering Union in 1946, I saw there the devastation and harm wrought to Socialist advance by Fascism—saw also the speed of peaceful developments. We, under capitalism, now see a descending standard of living, but the confidence of workers everywhere is sustained in the knowledge of the rising standard of life in the U.S.S.R. and in the New

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Democracies sheltering under the wing of the advanced Russian workers.

For us in Britain in this grim period, we may feel strength in the knowledge of the 27,000,000 Trade Unionists in the U.S.S.R. and in the great purpose for progress displayed by their representatives in the W.F.T.U. in pursuing the policy of extending assistance and strength to workers of countries emerging for the first time in Trade Union development. In our own struggle here for a better life the understanding that the way is open for complete agreement with the U.S.S.R., and that the possibilities of peaceful reciprocal trading are inexhaustible, provide in this time of economic crisis the simple answer in the minds of workers. With this knowledge and energy, British trade unionists can force a change in the present disastrous policy pursued in our name by British representatives in world affairs, and can open up the way to peace and Socialism in Britain.

People of the U.S.S.R., we thank you for your example. Long live the U.S.S.R.! Long live the Revolution!

JIM GARDNER, General Secretary, Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers.

The people of Britain have a very special reason for wanting peace. In our compact island the devastation of World War II—with its evidence of shattered buildings and overcrowded houses in our main towns and cities—is only a fraction of what would happen if an Atomic World War III were to strike our people. There are also very special reasons for wanting peace with Russia. The disappearance of the sellers' market is a matter of some concern to Britain's industrialists, and pinpoints the need for the reconstruction of our basic and export industries if they are to compete in the world's markets. Already Japan and Germany, assisted by Marshall Aid or its equivalent, are entering into competition against British textile and engineering products. Other countries are also endeavouring to regain lost markets and gain new ones; and all this in face of the overwhelming production of the United States of America.

Of considerable importance to Western Europe is the development of trade with Russia and the Eastern Democracies. Britain is part of Western Europe, and while building armaments may offer temporary employment, it cannot provide the means to pay for our food and raw materials which Eastern Europe can supply, nor can it absorb the redundancy that will surely come if trade between Britain and Eastern Europe is not rapidly and extensively developed.

Not only is it impossible to think of war with the Soviet Union without also thinking about the horrible devastation that would accompany a war, but it is also impossible to think of British prosperity unless there is a real friendship with the Soviet Union and a prosperous trade between the two countries.

For humanity's sake war is unthinkable. For the sake of a prosperous Britain, war with the Soviet Union would be national suicide.

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FRANCE SAYS "NO!" TO THE WARMONGERS

By JOANNY BERLIOZ

(Councillor of the Republic).

THERE was resistance in France to the appointment of Lord Montgomery as Commander-in-Chief of Wall Street's future army of the West. But it did not arise only from matters of prestige or of the personal ambitions of General Juin—not to speak of the ambitions of de Gaulle. Differences in strategic conceptions played a part. Where exactly is to be the vaunted "line of resistance to the thrust from the East"? Agreement on this has not been reached. They can scarcely dream any more of the Elbe as the line: but some wanted the line of the Rhine-Black Forest. Meanwhile American military views envisage a falling back behind the Pyrenees and in North Africa, leaving the land of France as a magnificent experimental field for atomic bombardment before being "reconquered."

Ah yes, that is where we are now three years after the victory of the liberty-loving peoples over the Nazi beast. That is the Kriegspiel (war game) brought before the French with the obvious aim of maddening public opinion, and making it catch the Yankee billionaires' war fever, for the further excitement of which the present session of the United Nations has served as an opportunity!

French bourgeois circles, according to the Washington correspondent of *The Times*, are not disposed to accept enthusiastically a political strategy which thus condemns France in advance. For their dread is that they may witness the mass of the people of this country turning to quite a different strategy and welcoming the Soviet armies as liberators. But above all, behind the discussions on the seat of the Defence Council, is the great anxiety of the American high command about the internal situation in France.

The American Chiefs of Staff, as the English press has shown, have lost confidence in French military potentialities. It is clear that our army, though large and costly (900,000 men and at a cost of a third of the total budget of a thousand milliard francs), cannot be very efficient. For one thing an immense amount of trickery prevails in it, due largely to the incompetent Gaullist Ministers of War who have been unable to think of anything except how to fill the army posts with Vichyites. Its armament is very defective; for national production of war material has been deliberately sabotaged in order to rely on foreign equipment in the desire to sacrifice the independence of France.

But it is not so much a matter of military potentialities—well enough proven in the wonderful struggle of the French Resistance forces directed by leaders sprung from the people—as of *political capacity*. In the plans of aggression against Eastern Europe, France was to have been the winning piece, but this piece is slipping from

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between the fingers of the warmongers. Vast quantities of American war material are being disembarked in our ports, and big depots for it, particularly in the Paris region, are being established. But it happens that the dockers of Le Havre are refusing to discharge cargoes of munitions and at the same time you can hear Americans or reactionary French politicians muttering " Do you think it's quite wise to accumulate such armaments here? Isn't there a fear of them falling into the hands of the Communists?" That is a pointer to the apprehensions that the strategists of an anti-Soviet war are harbouring with regard to the French people.

The present Minister of the Armed Forces, the right wing Socialist Ramadier, hurriedly calls his colleagues of Great Britain and Benelux to Paris in order to settle details of the joint arrangement laid down in the Pact of Brussels. But the overwhelming majority of the French population has given its consent neither to this new Holy Alliance nor to the Marshall Plan as a whole. They are not to be bribed by American "gifts" whose consequences were too quickly revealed to the eyes of those who cherished illusions about American aid. Leon Blum could hymn the praises of American aid, declaring it "disinterested, noble, the fruit of an almost religious feeling of international duty". But the consequences have been the beginning of unemployment in various industries, the perspective of final extinction of the aircraft industry and a disastrous economic and financial policy.

The dollar dictators were in a hurry—they moved too fast in forcing their Parisian servants to abandon all the French positions towards Germany in regard to reparations and security; to accept the proposition of priority for Germany's reconstruction; to make France an ally of Western Germany which has remained Nazified and militarised; in the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union, which saved our country by its gigantic efforts—a fact which nobody has forgotten.

The national feeling of the French people has been vigorously awakened at the moment when some hoped it had been put to sleep. It has been fostered by the Communist Party in the measure that the vital interests of the nation have been betrayed once again by the big bourgeoisie.

Take for example the forceful declaration of Maurice Thorez at the 11th Congress of the French Communist Party in July, 1947: " We are not willing to let our country be reduced to the role of a pawn that Britain and the United States, one after another or at times both together, can move about on the chess board of world politics." And we may recall that popular pressure was so strong that the London Agreement, which set up a Western Europe according to the American plan, passed through the National Assembly with a majority of only eight votes.

To be assured then of "military potentialities" in France, its working class has to be crushed and beaten down to a colonial

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standard of life. It was beaten last December, but it has never had the mentality of defeat, as is proved now by the resolute strike movement of the miners. The working class has to be divided and a flood of dollars lubricated the splitting of the trade unions at the end of 1947; today, amongst all the rank and file organs of the trade unions, unity is being irresistibly rebuilt in action. The Communist Party, thrown out of the Government, has to be weakened, while the "Third Force" has to prepare the way for the de Gaulle faction; the by-elections show the Party gaining in influence while decent people who had been momentarily misled are going away from this Pretender to personal power, because he shows himself to be an adventurer, chiefly maintained by former collaborators with the Nazis and still more because, by jumping onto the American band waggon, he has clumsily revealed that he is heading for war.

The gulf between the policy of the French Government and the deepest wishes and aspirations of the people is yawning more and more widely: hence also the frequent and painful Ministerial crises in these last months. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Schuman, utters the most vapid and anti-Soviet speech at the United Nations to prove his servility to Wall Street, but his harangue finds no echo amongst the masses. But what does meet with a profound response is the communiqué of the C.G.T. approving in their entirety Vyshinsky's disarmament proposals; and also the declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that " the French people will not go to war with the Soviet Union, they will never go to war with the Soviet Union"; and their common declaration that the pledges of a Government which does not represent France are in no way binding upon the people.

Spaak was not just putting on an act when he declaimed to the United Nations "we are in fear"! They are afraid of the peoples and especially of the French people. Schuman and his ministerial colleagues are afraid of them; for they know only too well that the present struggles have broken out not only to gain legitimate demands, but because at bottom there is the resolve to regain national independence. The transatlantic strategists are afraid of them, for when France says "No" that means for the State Department the loss of its cannon fodder and its principal theatre of war. Neither for Schuman nor Truman is France a certainty as an ally, and that is why they prefer Germany as an ally and Franco as an ally. (The latter is at the moment much sought after, and we have to tender our best thanks to the *Daily Mail* for the great solicitude which it shows towards us when it urges us French to stop " grousing about the benevolent attitude of the United States for Spain".)

The anxiety the Americans feel about the French behaviour came through in the latest broadcast of Premier Queuille on October 9th. The Prime Minister was very threatening, declaring that he would not tolerate strikes or a social agitation which sought to affect French

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foreign policy, and announcing that the Government would know how to maintain "law and order".

What was his meaning? The fomenters of war cannot set the pact of Brussels in motion as a means of aggression against the democratic countries, because as far as France is concerned they have failed in the application of Article 3, namely, "the High Contracting Parties will associate their efforts to lead their peoples towards a deeper understanding of the principles at the basis of their common civilisation". Do they think that they can have recourse to Article 5 of the same Pact which provides that "the High Contracting Parties will act in concert on the attitude and measures to adopt . . . on any situation endangering economic stabilisation"?

To this article, it may be remembered, there was openly given a particular interpretation and the phrase "internal aggression" was much used. It is nothing else than a Convention for Police operations, an engagement for mutual support in attempts to break up movements for working class demands or for democratic rights. As soon as it was known, one of the Secretaries of the Paris Trades Council (Union des Syndicats) set down what he feared in these terms:

> This means that Jules Moch's police with their truncheons can count on the support of the German gendarmes to crush a miners' strike in the Loraine Basin or on the English Military Police to intervene in the Nord and in the Pas de Calais against the miners, textile workers or metal workers . . .*

Would they dare to go as far as that, on the pretext (according to the enthusiastic phrase of the *Daily Telegraph*) "to stop the Communist advance either by Cold War or any other means"; in reality to hold down the French people under the rod of the Western Defence Council?

Well, if it has come to that, then the French people will turn to the working class of Great Britain and the British people and will ask them to recognise the big responsibility that lies upon them in this matter of carrying out the adventurist aims of international reaction.

After the signature of the Franco-British Alliance at Dunkirk on 4th March, 1947, we wrote: †

> "the Entente can only be beneficial if it fits into the framework of loyal collaboration, for rallying the Democratic and Socialist forces, without threatening the independence of any nation or of any progressive party, without helping the forces of reaction . . . The true ally in this is the masses of the people of the two countries who fought together side by side to make an end of fascism and imperialism . . ."

Perhaps the hour has now come for the "true allies" to show their complete solidarity against those who would hurl them into catastrophe. We are confident that the toiling masses of Britain are also going to say "No" to war; "No" to the Holy Alliance of the financial oligarchies; "No" to the American yoke.

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*In the Trade Union Review: *Servir la France*, May, 1948.
†*Democratie Nouvelle*, March, 1947.

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THE EFFECT OF REARMAMENT

by JOHN GOLLAN

WHILE Vyshinsky and the Soviet delegation were preparing the disarmament proposals to put before the Assembly of the United Nations, Morrison was announcing the British rearmament measures, the slow-down in demobilisation, the doubling of jet fighter production, the increasing quantities of fighting vehicles and munitions, and the acceleration of the naval programme.

Rearmament, of course, is a misnomer. A country which spends 40% of its budget on past and present wars, and £700 millions a year on armaments and keeps a million men in the armed forces has not disarmed. The extension of the armaments drive by the Labour Government is the logical outcome of its imperialist policy. It will have dire consequences for the British people.

Introducing the new programme, Morrison tried to belittle the consequences and already the official labour line is that it will do no more than take up the " slack " in the economy of the country. While in his Press Conference of October 11 Cripps was reported as telling the Americans that the present measures of rearmament decided were not such as to interfere materially with British recovery, he added: " If further steps were taken, however, the whole matter would have to be reconsidered." As the *Observer* political correspondent in an inspired comment put it on September 26:

> Unemployment still exists in South Wales and Merseyside, for instance. By careful planning, Ministers hope that the extra hands needed for rearmament will come from these pockets, and not from people already in work.

This is pure deception. Jet fighters and fighting vehicles are not produced in the Development Areas, even where the Royal Ordnance Factories have been retained. Furthermore, as the *Financial Times* pointed out, the suggestions that the amounts involved (£50 to £80 millions) are likely to be small " are not taken seriously in well informed circles. While the immediate effect may be moderate, it is expected to gather momentum and to become a factor of first rate importance in the economic situation of this country." These measures are but the first step to be followed by the extension of the conscription period and still further crushing burdens of armaments involving above all smashing attacks upon the living standards of the working class.

Already before the armaments drive the Government had launched its offensive against the living standards. The notorious wage-freezing policy, crushing taxation, rising prices and record profits for the monopolists had brought about such a reduction in real wages that, despite the abolition of coupons, clothing, furniture, boots and shoes, radios, hardware and the like were piling up in the shops.

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August food sales were the lowest for three months; sales of footwear fell by 4%, boys' wear by 20% and women's wear by 12%.

At the same time the export trade was beginning to encounter serious difficulties. " Frustrated " exports were being spoken of and a special Government Committee was appointed to sanction release for the home market of goods which could not be sold abroad. The export drive was entering the phase of cut-throat competition. It was this fact which lay behind Sir Stafford Cripps' special production appeal to the Trades Union Congress heralding still further attacks upon the working class, harder work, longer hours and still lower real wages to bring down exports costs. It was no accident that Sir Ronald Weeks, deputy chairman of Vickers, followed on the heels of Cripps by calling for reduced taxation (for the capitalists), restraint in the application of improved social services and nationalisation, stating that the necessary increased productivity could only be achieved by harder work, longer hours and the abolition of restrictive practices.

All these factors were undoubtedly laying the basis for an economic slump which will be the outcome of Government policy unless the workers force a change. Already, however, the claim is being made that the armament measures will eliminate the danger of unemployment which was starting to appear. While they may have this temporary effect in some places, these steps cannot change the ultimate results of the Government's general policy. In addition, much of the armament work will merely replace existing employment and the programme will intensify every economic difficulty now facing Britain.

Because of this the armament drive itself presents the Government and the capitalist class with a dilemma. Just as the extravagant military expenditure to date, the result of the Government's imperialist policy, is steadily crippling Britain's economy so every increase in military expenditure makes the position worse. In its leading article on the Morrison programme on September 18, *The Times* wrote that the question was that of " deciding what further military commitments can be supported without bringing down the whole edifice of recovery upon which everything else depends." In an issue of the same date the *Economist* claimed that Britain in its present state could not come through " a rearmament programme of even moderate size without risking economic apoplexy."

One thing is not in doubt and that is that the immediate cost of the new armaments programme will be still heavier taxation and reductions in social services for the British people. It is clear that the Government will not finance the programme by long term borrowing, as its aim is a budget surplus and besides the Americans would apply pressure against that under their E.R.P. Act. The entire capitalist and financial press make no bones about it. What is to be sacrificed? asked the *Economist* on September 18. " Will the Government have the courage to go more slowly on housing and social services?" Later,

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on October 2, it wrote that because of the arms programme " the need to reduce the food subsidies is more urgent than ever". *The Times* Parliamentary correspondent on September 29 said the contraction in capital expenditure " is more likely to affect private industrial building and the building of schools, hospitals and public institutions".

From all this it is clear that the cost of the armaments will be found at the expense of the people; the guns come before even the margarine. Only a simpleton would believe the current talk that housing will not be affected.

While the appeal is for more production the arms programme will still further disrupt production. More men for the army and arms production obviously means less on production for the home and export market. Furthermore, there will be a diversion of raw materials from civilian production to arms production. It is certain that scarce imported raw materials will go in the first place to the arms, with consequent shortages in civilian goods industries. The steel position will get worse as allocations for normal purposes to shipbuilding, engineering, building, etc., will be cut. The Government will obviously make every effort to maintain the export position and it is therefore certain that the home market will suffer. While the redundancy now threatening some engineering factories may be temporarily overcome by the war orders, production over a whole range of others will be disorganised because of the switch in materials. This is the reality of the " war means work " talk, which is the worst defeatism in the labour movement.

The whole balance of payments position will be further dislocated. The real annual rate of the deficit of the first half-year was at £402 millions, of which Government overseas expenditure was at the rate of £236 millions (military expenditure being £152 millions of that). Already the Malayan war will have forced that up and the City column of *The Times* on September 18 wrote " . . . . it is feared that the Government's military expenditure overseas will be bound to increase, partly in the sterling area and partly in hard currency territories". In the first nine months of the year the gold and dollar drain was at the annual rate of £440 millions. So far £183 million Marshall " Aid " has been allocated for the first 6 months of which £63 millions has been received. What will happen with the European payments scheme (which makes the Marshall " Aid " of £315 millions a net £180 millions) is anyone's guess, but it is certain it will not balance the gold drain. Indeed, even before the armament measures the *Economist* on September 25 sounded the alarm on Cripps' balance of payments speech. The position was still unsound, it pointed out, because of the still heavy gold drain; the heavily reduced imports were not the basis of " permanent prosperity " and the high level of exports would be difficult to hold. The sellers' market, it considered, would not last for ever, and when it collapsed it would take " a high degree of hardihood

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in optimism to believe that, when that day comes, British exports will stay up at the level of 130 per cent. of 1938, or the even higher figures that are posed as targets." The conclusion was that British exports must undercut the world, the recurrent theme now.

If the steel and manpower position was already affecting the export position, the rearmament measures will intensify these difficulties. It will be recalled that the backbone of the export drive has been engineering products, with which armaments enter into direct competition. Furthermore, additional postponement of modernisation plans now because of armaments still further weakens British industry in face of U.S. competition when the sellers' market does collapse.

Because of all this the idea of American lend lease is being widely canvassed. The appeal to Wall Street to share the cost of the struggle against Communism has been most openly put by the so-called left—R. H. S. Crossman—in the Commons debate.

> The way out of the dilemma was to tell America frankly that Western European rearmament must have a dollar backing akin to Marshall Aid. America should be told bluntly that the money lost in the export drive must be made good in dollars, and that unless they wanted to waste the E.R.P. dollars and see Communism grow, they must move the financial burden of rearmament from Western Europe.

The notorious Senator Gurney, whose special mission was to bring Franco into the Western bloc, has declared himself in favour of Crossman's proposition. Figures of between 4,000 million dollars and 8,000 million have been mentioned. These points should be noted here. The Washington correspondent of *The Times* reported on October 7, " It is . . . likely that any considerable military aid would be accompanied by a corresponding decrease in aid under E.R.P." If any such scheme was worked out a prior American condition would be to squeeze the last penny out of the Western partners, above all insisting on reduced working class standards. Finally, the conditions accompanying such aid would probably finish off the remnants of political and military independence left to Britain and the West.

Still fiercer attacks on the British working class, their wages, hours and social standards, still greater intensification of British economic difficulties, still greater political and economic servitude to the U.S.A. —such are the results of the armament measures of the Government. Such is the logical outcome of Labour Government policy.

All of this will have profound repercussions. The Communist Party call to fight to defend peace and living standards is finding its echo. The struggle for wages among the engineers, the miners, the railwaymen, the fight for peace so brilliantly spotlighted by the Clyde engineers' strike, the Mansion House actions and the innumerable peace conferences now mobilising the movement will grow. The mad war policy will founder on the rock of working class resistance.

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WALL STREET OVER THE FAR EAST

By JACK WODDIS and NEIL STEWART

IN its offensive against world democracy, fascism resorted to a division of spoils. Nazi Germany was to take Europe, the Near East and the Soviet Union as far as the Urals, while Imperial Japan was to take Asia and the Pacific area. No such share-out of the loot marks the present aggressive drive against the forces of democracy, peace and socialism: nothing but the whole "jack-pot" will satisfy the present war-crazed maniacs of Wall Street. Western Union and the Marshall Plan in Europe march side by side with Kennan's "Little Marshall Plan" for Asia, the Wedemeyer Plan for China, and MacArthur's "Co-prosperity Plan" for Japan. The thousand million people of Asia, half of mankind, are marked down for perpetual slavery in the plans of the American imperialists and militarists. The vast natural resources—tin, rubber, oil, iron ore, palm oil, rice, tea, tungsten, copra, lead, bauxite, soya bean, zinc, timber (and perhaps uranium?)—are eagerly eyed by U.S. bankers and militarists alike. Whether as profitable loot, or as valuable stock-piling commodities for war, the natural wealth of Asia arouses the appetites of the American rulers.

The military, political and economic fulcrum of United States policy in the Far East is Japan. The aim is to restore Japan as "the industrial workshop of the Far East" under American supervision and to re-establish her military strength. Japan is expected, in return, to play her part in crushing the colonial liberation movements, driving Britain from her Asiatic markets, and provide a jumping off base for an attack on the Soviet Union. The *Economist* (1.11.47) explained the case of the American imperialists thus:

> Have not some American papers already gone so far as to suggest that a new Japanese Army should be organised under American officers? But then, an army is of little use without heavy industry to keep it supplied; and, after all, the past is past and best forgotten.

How far "the past is past and forgotten" by the bankers of Wall Street, their trusted Truman Administration, and their "shoe-shine" boys of the American Federation of Labour, who jointly clamour and prepare for war against the Soviet Union, is strikingly revealed by an article which appeared in the *Detroit Free Press,* August 8th, 1947. Brazenly entitled "Our Possible Ally, Japan", it estimated that "by turning the Jap loose against Siberia" one could "dominate approximately the Eastern third" of the Soviet Union which, while it "wouldn't alone lick the Russians . . . would help matters along tremendously". A few days later (13th August), Hamilton Owens, editor of the *Baltimore Sun,* outlined "MacArthur's plan for Japan" and compared it not only with the Marshall Plan for Europe but also

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with the Japanese " Co-prosperity sphere for Asia". By his babbling, Hamilton Owens has revealed that MacArthur and the American imperialists hope to accomplish in Asia what Japanese fascism was unable to complete.

How important a place Japan occupies in U.S.A. plans, and the pace with which military and economic preparations are being pushed ahead is shown by a series of recent visits to Japan of key American State Department and military figures. Top level policy-makers of the United States, such as Mr. Kennan, Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State, Mr. Draper, Under-Secretary of the Army, and Mr. Hoffman, head of the Economic Co-operation Administration, have all recently visited Japan. It is understood all expressed full agreement with the principles of the report prepared for the Army by the Overseas Consultants Inc., which advocated the virtual cessation of reparations from Japan. Mr. Draper advocates $150 million to aid Japan's recovery. But that the aid is to be for military purposes is clear from the key part that the American Army is playing in these developments. In fact the *Observer* (11th April, 1948) commented that " the initiative in the present moves has come from the Army with the State Department tagging along in the rear". Following the return to America of the Draper-Hoffman and Kennan missions, a further mission went out to Japan, headed by Major-General Noce, chief of the Civil Affairs Division of the United States Department of the Army, and composed of members of his own staff and representatives of the Departments of State and Commerce. *The Times* reported (14th April, 1948) that the purpose of this mission was " to further American plans to restore Japan to virtually a peace-time basis even before the peace treaty is signed". Of course, the term " peace-time basis " could cover 1941, before Pearl Harbour, or 1939, before Britain declared war against Germany, or 1937, before Japan attacked China. In fact, however, Japan was on a virtual war-footing from at least 1937. The restoration of Japan to a " peace-time basis " means in practice the placing of Japan on a *war* footing.

Other steps being taken fully bear out this estimate. United States Army engineers are building a $13 million air base in Aomori Prefecture, Northern Honshu, which, already 60% completed, is expected to be finished by the end of 1948; the farcical Tokyo war criminals' trial marks the end of de-fascisation of Japan; 300,000 former Japanese servicemen are maintaining their organisation, camouflaged as " settlers' detachments"; military science is being taught in the newly-created police university; the 123,000 strong police is already double what it was before the 1945 surrender; a new " railway police " and " naval police " has been created; steps are being taken to lease Ryukyu and Tsushima Islands to the United States for 66 years, and to establish Army and Navy bases on Kyushu and Hokkaido; MacArthur has stopped the dismantling of Japanese war plants, the Chiang Kai-shek Government has been persuaded to cut its reparations claim on Japan by a half; MacArthur (following the

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pattern of General Clay and Guderian in the West) is reforming the Japanese espionage network in the Far East.

Every step taken by the American rulers in Japan is a step towards war. There is even no pretence that it is otherwise. Even Kennan's "Little Marshall Plan" for economic and strategic co-ordination between Japan, Southern Korea, the Philippines and the former Japanese mandated islands, is designed to facilitate the military measure of which they are a part. The same motive lies behind the restrictions placed on Japanese democratic and trade union activities; as well as the removal of the largest monopoly banks—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda—from the scope of decentralising legislation. A Japanese Peace Treaty which sanctioned all these blatant departures from the Moscow and Potsdam agreements—which is what the United States imperialists desire—would be no *peace* treaty but a dangerous step along the road to war.

China, no less than Japan, occupies a key place in the U.S.A. plans for Asia. Nothing would be more mistaken than to assume, as many commentators are doing, that United States imperialism has switched from a "China" policy to a "Japan" policy. Not for nothing has the American Government poured out the colossal sum of $4,640,498,223 to Chiang Kai-shek since V.J. Day—compared with $1,567,800,000 given during the period of the anti-Japanese war (and even this latter amount was stored up for use *after* the war against the Chinese people). A graphic illustration of the immense effort made by American imperialism to maintain her foothold in China is the fact that the American taxpayer has paid the equivalent of a post-war levy of 30 dollars a head to maintain the Chiang Kai-shek régime. The debates in the U.S.A. Congress and Senate only confirm the intention to keep China as a war base and a dumping ground for American goods. The military plan outlined last year by Lt.-General Albert C. Wedemeyer, after his return to America from China, is still the main strategic policy of the United States towards China. The Wedemeyer Plan envisages the division of China into six strategic areas:

1. North-West Soviet Defence Area.
2. South-West International Communications Area.
3. North-East and North China Military Area.
4. North China Absolute Military Area.
5. Central China Absolute Military Area.
6. South China Economical Reconstruction Area.

This plan is no counter to or substitute for Kennan's "Little Marshall Plan", but is intended to dovetail into it, the two together forming part of the grandiose scheme for the new "Co-prosperity sphere in Asia". In essence the aim of the Wedemeyer Plan is to fight a delaying, holding action in the North East and North, so as to give time for Central China to be strengthened and retained. If these three areas can hold for two years (and it's a big "if"), then economic reconstruction—or to be more exact, American penetration—can go ahead in South China. Then, with this area as a base, the plan aims

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to launch a counter-offensive against the Liberated Areas and eventually against the Soviet Union. The plan relies for its success on the bringing of South China entirely under U.S. control. In the plan Formosa becomes a joint Sino-American military base. Ports along the South Coast (including Hainan Island) are needed to cover Formosa; a railway will need to be built between Canton and Amoy to strengthen communications between the Formosa base and Kwantung Province. The Wedemeyer plan is already being put into operation. Wei Tao-ming and T.V. Soong, both notorious as stooges of America, have been made Provincial Governors of Formosa and Kwantung respectively. General Sun Lijen, a West Point graduate, has been transferred from Manchuria to Formosa, to take charge of the army training programme under the instruction of American officers. The United States is meanwhile speeding up preparations on Hainan Island; naval bases are being developed there, and naval cadets are receiving training. Hainan iron ore is being shipped direct to Japan and the five railways are being restored. Recently Dr. Leighton Stuart, American Ambassador to Chiang Kai-shek, and General David Barr, head of the U.S. Military Advisory Group in China (MAGIC), toured Hainan, accompanied by T. V. Soong. Hainan Island, strategically placed with regard to the China coast and Indo-China, is an indispensable link in the chain of bases running from Southern Korea, through Japan, the Riukiu Islands and Formosa. It completes the chain blockading the whole China coast. There are reports that America is planning to build a big military airfield in Canton, and to build a port opposite Macao, to enable the by-passing of Hong Kong. Reports also show that America is gaining control of China's inland waterways. Latest reports from China state that MAGIC has demanded more direct control over all the Kuomintang Armies, including advisory powers in Staff planning and operations, and control over all training and over military equipment and supply services.

Included in the Wedemeyer Plan is the South West International Communications Area. The purpose of this segment of the plan is to use East Asia as a base for American economic and military expansion to drive deeply into South East Asia. Everyone knows whose voice is being echoed when the National Assembly of China calls on the Chiang Kai-shek Government to seek a military alliance binding South-East Asia countries in a "common effort to halt Communist expansion". But neither Chiang Kai-shek nor Anglo-U.S. imperialism can halt history. The peoples of Asia are tearing huge gaps in the system of world capitalism, and are forging in struggle new democratic States. They are on the march to freedom and will not be denied.

Napoleon once said: "China is a slumbering giant. Let her sleep, for when she wakes she'll move the world." China has awoken. So has the rest of Asia. And the world, in truth, *is* being moved.

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100 Years Ago

COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

The defeat of the Vienna Insurrection, with the fall of Vienna on November 1, 1848, *was the signal for the counter-revolution in Germany. In Prussia, the Constitutional Assembly in Berlin was first ordered to remove itself from the capital (which was occupied without resistance by* 40,000 *troops under General Wrangel), and, on its refusal, declared dissolved. This was the prelude to the dissolution of the Frankfurt National Assembly early in December,* 1848. *Marx was quick to point out in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung that since the government had committed an act of treason to the people's assembly, it had no right to levy taxes on the people. On November* 15, 1848, *the Neue Rheinische Zeitung published the following appeal to democrats of the Rhine Province.*

APPEAL TO REFUSE TAXES.

Cologne, November 14. The Regional Committee of Democrats of the Rhine Province calls on all democratic associations of the Rhine Province immediately to convene their associations and to organise mass meetings in all places in the neighbourhood in order to summon the whole population of the Rhine Province to refuse payment of taxes as the most expedient means of countering the Government's violence against the Assembly of the Prussian people's representatives.

Any forcible opposition to eventual tax recovery proceedings by the executive authorities is inadvisable, on the other hand refusal to bid in compulsory sales is to be recommended.

For arranging further measures to be adopted, the Regional Committee considers it necessary that a Congress of delegates of the Associations should be convened, and they are invited to attend such a congress on Thursday, November 23, at 9 a.m. (Eiser's Hall in the Komödiestrasse here).

Cologne, November 14, 1848.

On behalf of the Regional Committee,

KARL MARX.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into any correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

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Document of the Month

SOVIET PROPOSALS ON DISARMAMENT

On 25th September at the General Assembly of the United Nations, A. Y. Vyshinsky, on behalf of the Soviet Government, put forward the following resolution, for adoption by the General Assembly:

Noting that practically nothing has been done to this day to carry into effect the Assembly's decision of January 24, 1946, on atomic energy or the decision of December 14, 1946, on the principles governing the general regulation and reduction of armaments; acknowledging that prohibition of the production and utilisation of atomic energy for war needs is a primary task; acknowledging that a general substantial reduction of armaments meets the purposes of the establishment of firm peace and the consolidation of international security and corresponds to the interests of the peoples in reducing the excessive and ever-growing expenditure on armaments in various countries; considering that the great Powers—permanent members of the Security Council—possess the bulk of the armed forces and armaments and bear the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and general security; with a view to strengthening the cause of peace and eliminating the threat of a new war being kindled by expansionists and other reactionary elements:

The General Assembly recommends the permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, Great Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and China—as the first step in the reduction of armaments and armed forces, to reduce by one-third within one year all existing land, naval and air forces.

The General Assembly recommends the prohibition of the atomic weapon as a weapon intended for aggressive aims and not for defence.

The General Assembly recommends the establishment of an international control body within the framework of the Security Council to watch and control the carrying out of measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and for the prohibition of the atomic weapon.

Trade unionists who may be delegates to conferences or preparing annual reports should note these articles on wages and workshop issues in LABOUR MONTHLY *in* 1948:

"Deflation and the Economic Crisis," by Maurice Dobb (Jan.).
"Trade Unions and Communism," by Arthur Horner (Feb.); also as a 3d. pamphlet.
"The Offensive Against Labour Unity," by Harry Adams (April).
"Guns or Butter," by J. R. Campbell (May).
"Strings or Chains?" by D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P. (June).
"Caste System in Britain," by P. H. H. Bryan (June).
"Two Impressions of Scarborough," by Steve Lawther and Tom Gittins (July).
"The Wage Freeze," by Jim Gardner (July).
"Britain's Economic Plight," by J. R. Campbell (September).
"Trade Union Education," by Douglas Garman (September).
"The Margate Conference," by Harry Pollitt (October).

Some are still available; but to ensure not missing such important contributions, readers should order regularly through newsagents or take out subscriptions (12*s. yearly,* 13*s. overseas*); *post free from* 134 *Ballards Lane, London, N.*3.

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Book Reviews

The Fortress of Socialism

Soviet Economic Development since 1917 by Maurice Dobb (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 18/-).

FOR future generations there will not be in the whole story of mankind up to our present times any wonder to surpass the tale of how the first Socialist Society in human history won its way to life out of the womb of capitalism. With the guidance of the Soviet Communist Party, under the leadership of such men as Lenin and Stalin, socialism was turned from a dream to reality and a great fortress of human progress was established over one-sixth of the world. Of those who have written in English of the new Russia, many have been hired to slander and confuse, many trapped by their own prejudices and preconceived ideas, have misunderstood and misrepresented; few have even attempted to seize the greatness of the events; but the books of those who have in some measure appreciated the significance of what has been happening will be cherished. To this category belongs Maurice Dobb's book on "Soviet Economic Development", published in 1927. Now in a new book "the historical story", to quote Dobb's own words, "has been completely reworded and rewritten as well as being extended over a further twenty years" (p. viii). The result is a book of first-rate importance to the labour movement which at the same time will lighten academic darkness on socialism and planning and expose the nakedness of its bourgeois critics.

It is the story of an economic battle that Maurice Dobb tells with illuminating detail and uncompromising objectivity, the story of the long-drawn struggle fought out in a thousand factories and farms, in shops and offices, in trade union and political organisations, at every level, year in year out, the story of economic construction twice within a score of years ruthlessly attacked by capitalist arms.

Russia before the war of 1914-18, despite a rapid growth of monopoly capitalism, remained an industrially backward country. Its economic development, such as it was, was distorted, as is always the case, by the effects of foreign domination. On this distorted backward economy weighed down by several tiers of exploitation was piled the destruction of World War I. On this was piled the invasion of fourteen capitalist states in 1919-21. Thus the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the victory of the people against the capitalist intervention of 1918-21 won for the proletariat a backward economy wrecked by war and famine. The proletariat and its Bolshevik Party, which had proved its heroic qualities in war, was now called upon to shoulder the long and arduous task of building socialism on such foundations of poverty and chaos.

Once the interventionists had been thrown back, a beginning could be made, not directly with the building of socialism but with the preparatory stage to socialism. This was the period of the New Economic Policy, what Lenin described as a "transitional mixed system", a period in which "capitalism is to a certain degree inevitable as the elemental product of small production and exchange", but in which at the same time "either we subordinate this petty bourgeoisie to *our* control or they will overthrow our workers' government". The difficulties of the Bolshevik Party in this difficult period furthermore included treachery within its own ranks. Here, what Dobb has to say might with advantage have been supplemented by a more complete account of the nature of this opposition to the policy of Lenin and Stalin. Dobb mentions the arguments used by some of its leaders, but it is necessary to understand that these were opponents who behind all their talk were fighting the Bolshevik leadership by every possible means, who were financed and equipped by the capitalist powers, who were planning in an organised way the overthrow of the workers' state, their activities culminating in the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre, the Trotskyite Parallel Centre engaged in sabotage and the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites

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working in direct association with foreign and particularly the German Military Intelligence.*

For seven long years the fight continued to restore the economic life of Russia and to lay foundations from which "to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible" (Communist Manifesto) and to make possible "the harmonious co-operation of its productive forces on the basis of one vast single plan" (Anti-Duhring, page 325). At last in 1928 the political, economic and administrative preparations had been made for great strides into a socialist future. Russia embarked on her first Five-Year Plan. In 1933 a second Five-Year Plan was initiated, carrying Russian economy forward to still new heights. A third Five-Year Plan began in 1938 destined to be completed in 1942, but once again the monopoly capitalists, this time the whole military and economic might of Continental Europe marshalled by Nazi fascism, tried to destroy the socialist fortress by war. This evoked deeds of mass heroism surpassing even those of 1917-21 and at the same time proved the amazing resilience and strength of planned socialist economy. However, terrible wounds were inflicted and terrible losses suffered. When the Nazi-imperialist aggressors were thrown back, then Russia began again the ascent to new peaks of economic achievement. The bare silhouette of what was done may perhaps be seen in the figures of her production of steel—the basis of modern industry. Steel production in 1913 was 4.2 million tons (against 8 million tons in Britain, 19 in Germany, 5 in France and 31 in U.S.A.). In 1918-20 it fell to an insignificant fraction of pre-war. By 1928 it was back to pre-war. Then things began to move. *The first two five-year plans in the short space of ten years carried output to over four times pre-war* (18 *million tons in* 1938). The third five-year plan was to take production to 27.5 million tons in 1942, but, because

*An excellent account of the unceasing attacks on the land of socialism is given in the "Great Conspiracy against Russia" by Sayers & Kahn—a good companion to Dobb's book.

W.L.

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of the war, this was not to be; however, the post-war reconstruction plan will carry production well beyond pre-war levels to 25.4 million tons in 1950. Socialist construction forges ahead. No wonder that the first land of socialism longs for peace in which to realise the full potentialities of a socialist economy.

Against the background of his historical survey of socialism in practice Dobb introduces some theoretical questions of socialist planning such as the planning system, the financial system, the location of industry and so forth. Detailed consideration of these sections which are full of interest and illumination is not here possible, and it must suffice to commend them as a challenge to the falsification of socialist theory. Dobb's book will therefore be not only of great value within the labour movement; it is also a powerful weapon in the battle for socialist ideas in academic circles.

JOHN EATON.

Bloody Terror of Franco

Sleepless Spain by Victor Alba (The Cobbett Press, 8/6).

THE main value of this book, which is well-written, is in the way it gets under the surface and exposes much of the rottenness, corruption and bloody terror of the Franco dictatorship. The unending executions, batch after batch disposed of night after night after travesties of trials for which Franco is directly responsible, stand out vividly in this journalist's book.

Although not enough appears, it is possible to get a picture of the terrible poverty of the workers in face of soaring prices, miserable wages and long hours fixed by the Falangist Syndicats (Fascist Union Organisations) over which the workers have no control. The exploitation of the girls of Almendralejo by the dried up, religious old marchioness and the appalling poverty of the labourers of Elmeria, many suffering from trachoma, leave the reader under no illusions about the workers' lot. The picture of the lot of the peasantry, millions of whom are landless, is a merciless exposure of the whole system, supported by the Army, the Church and the Feudal Landowners.

Nevertheless the book has a great weakness, and the fact that it was finished two years ago in 1946 is not sufficient to explain away its pessimism, I would say its defeatism, about both the anti-Franco Fight and the solution of the Spanish problem. Speaking through a middle class lawyer, he says this: "Have you ever seen a people succeed in ridding itself of Government tyrants as the Jacobins did? Never in modern times." He can say that with the example of the great October Revolution before him. His conclusion about the overthrow of Franco is

> "Spain cannot be an exception. Régimes, whether democratic or totalitarian, yield only by pressure or intervention from abroad."

This is the weakness of the book. There is insufficient faith in the Spanish people. Its peasantry who are today in increasing numbers joining the "Guerrilleras". Its working class who have staged such tremendous strikes as those in the Basque country, Barcelona, Sabadëll and elsewhere, since this book was written it is true, but who were already actively fighting then and who have never given up since the Franco victory.

The fighting leadership given to the movement by the heroic members of the Spanish Communist Party, the best elements of Socialists and Republicans inside Spain is not recognised.

There is a danger some readers of *Sleepless Spain* might draw the false conclusion that, well, any other kind of Government so long as Franco is out would be welcome. That is what Bevin and the British Embassy gentlemen hope for. I don't think it is what the author would want, and I'm sure the warm-hearted, hospitable and brave Spanish people, with the aid of the workers everywhere, will not replace Franco, with Prieto, Don Juan or any other betrayer, but by the Republic, free, independent and peaceful.

PETER KERRIGAN.

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than the magazine as such. Most cordial greetings and best wishes for your courageous fight against international fascism and warmongering."

M.Z. (Dresden).

WORLD'S GREATEST PLAYWRIGHT.

Perhaps, before leaving this subject I ought to mention our oldest reader, who is both Ancient and Modern. When the world's greatest playwright last week renewed his subscription for two years—a neat gesture of confidence in both himself and us—he did not scruple to put the balance of his cheque to the development fund, which will be duly acknowledged next month.

A VERY PRESENT HELP . . .

Now would be the fitting moment to remind readers that this year, too, they can buy a Christmas and New Year gift token. This provides a subscription for a friend and a greeting card you can send on to him or her to announce the good news. (6s. per half-year; 12s. for a year; Two for £1 1s.; Three for £1 10s.). A very present help in trouble, your present problem is solved a month ahead!

A NICE CROP.

The fund, readers will notice, is doing rather well—a nice late autumn-flowering crop. If we find ourselves beginning the New Year with something in hand, it will of course be due to the efforts of the supporters, who contributed during September the sum of:

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